716 drastically through time, and we shall shortly see that the Chinese Communists are greatly altering the meaning and symbolism of those few which have been allowed to survive.

585 In addition to the annual festivals, the farmer's life of toil may be relieved by ceremonial family events. For a family with resources or the ability to borrow them, a wedding meant a great feast and ample wine; even the poorest families often went heavily into debt to make a marriage ceremony festive. Practical jokes were played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung, and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The 584 births of male children were often celebrated as 852 were the betrothals, and other milestones of family and individual life. In modern times the 527 government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays, but these were little observed by the farm villages.

536 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, 538 intermittent special events added interest and variety to the routine of village life. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed, and until very recently, the story teller frequently appeared on the village streets to spin out his tales to an impromptu audience. The election 622 of a village headman often involved political 788 maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

girl, were placed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. After the adults had worshiped the god the child was brought and allowed to choose from the articles on the tray. His choice was supposed to indicate his future. If the book was chosen the child would be a scholar. If the tile was selected he would be a useless man. If his first choice was the hoe he would be a good farmer. The choice of the scissors foretold that a girl would be a good knitter and seamstress.

Birthday anniversaries ordinarily were given but little recognition, though special foods were often prepared. Eggs and cakes for the boy carried with them the hope that he would continue to grow up in good health; "long-life" noodles for the family dinner expressed the wish for long life. The birthday of the oldest son was generally given more attention than the anniversaries of the other children.

When a man was 60 years old and had lived through a full cycle of the Chinese calendar his family generally held a special celebration. Relatives and friends called to offer their congratulations and present gifts, usually congratulatory scrolls. In some families the visitors kotowed to the man they were congratulating. A special feast was prepared for the family and friends. Wealthy families sometimes engaged bands of musicians and actors to provide entertainment on a stage erected in one of the family courtyards. In some cases the celebration might last three or four days.

What celebrations were held after the 60th anniversary would depend on the family. Some might have one every year. Others would pay special attention only to the 70th and 80th anniversaries. Others might celebrate every five years. The celebrations varied so much from family to family and depended so much on the financial situation of the family that no detailed study of them was attempted.

Marriage

Marriages were regularly arranged by the parents, generally through a match-maker. In some cases a marriage might even be arranged by two families before the birth of their children. If the children were of different sex they were engaged, if of the same sex they became sworn brothers or sisters.

When a marriage had been tentatively arranged the horoscopes of the boy and girl, the eight characters giving the year, month, day, and hour of their birth, were written out and sent to the fortune-teller for

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

581 Traditionally, it is for the furtherance of good-will between the two families that the marriage is arranged.

582 In the selection of mates, the Chinese follow the principle of exogamy, i.e., no two persons of the same clan-name can be married. The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have not violated this rule. In this village, families of different clan-names are found. It is, however, difficult to explain why only one family has its daughter-in-law from the same village. All families seem to prefer to find wives for their sons from and to marry their daughters away to other villages. The areas of marriage-relationship are, however, limited to a ten mile zone. Thus, the villagers do prefer their relatives to be neither too near nor too far away.

There is no special preference given to cross-cousin marriage. While marriage of a girl to her father's sister's son is often welcomed by both families, a union of a girl with her mother's brother's son is repulsive. The flow of girls from one family to another in cross-cousin marriage seems to follow the principle of one-way traffic. There is, so to speak, no return.

584 Generally, a marriage is arranged by a go-between who may be a relative or a friend of the two families. Professional go-betweens are seldom engaged. Once an arrangement has been made, the two families consult a geomancer to determine whether there is any "inherited" obstacle to the union.

585 554 A wedding is indeed a great occasion for the whole village. The degree of elaboration of the ceremony varies in direct proportion with the financial ability of the family concerned. A rich family with a simple wedding would be degraded, but a poor family with an elaborate wedding is much criticized. The principle is to have one behave as would be expected in his position.

Formal invitations are seldom sent, but villagers and near relatives get the news much ahead of time. Indeed, in the preparation of a wedding, friends and relatives are very often invited to help, for instance, in the making of wedding gowns and other garments for the bride and the bride-groom and family members. Unrelated persons are not prohibited from participation, and they are invited to share the wedding supper provided they contribute in the form of presents. Consequently, a wedding is a joy to all, because one may get more than he usually contributes.

833 The act of copulation begins on the wedding night. Shortly before this, the newly-weds are in "courtship" with the husband

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

of special equipment furnished by the wedding shop rather than the restaurant, $4.80 for the tables and chairs, $2 for a new carpet, 40 cents for another red carpet, $23.20 for silk decorations, $2.20 for a gas lamp. Flowers, both fresh and artificial, cost $11.55. Tips of all sorts amounted to $55.20. The restaurant men were given $19.50, approximately 10 per cent of the bill; coachmen and chauffeurs for the wedding party received $6.15; servants bringing gifts, $6.55; the policeman detailed to the restaurant, $2; the flower girls, $1. The chauffeurs, coachmen and ricksha men of the guests were given $6.65 for food money.

Transportation for the wedding party cost $42.95. Of this $38 was for carriages, and only $3.20 for automobiles. The latter was probably the amount of the tips given to the chauffeurs of cars loaned by friends. As it was a new-style wedding, a specially decorated carriage was used for the bride, rather than the old-type sedan chair. The old-style banners and decorations would not be used for the wedding procession, which evidently was a line of carriages escorted by a modern band. The shop's charge for the musicians was $24, and the men were given a tip of $6.

The wedding invitations cost $5, the wedding certificate $2.50, the special wedding seal $2.45, the wedding account-books 36 cents, other miscellaneous items $3.20, a total of $13.50.

Engagement

For the one wedding engagement entered in the accounts—that of a son—the expenditure was $324.20. The same month the family spent $853.75 for the wedding of another son (Wedding No. 9).

The engagement presents sent the son's fiancée were a jeweled ring costing $150 and cloth costing $50. The restaurant charge for the engagement feast was $45. The family also spent $12.60 for cakes and melon seeds, 80 cents for tea, and $1.40 for cigarettes. The motor-cars for the occasion cost $15, rented flowers $3.50, flags for decoration $2, a rented victrola $2.50. Tips to the servants came to $11.50.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

511 584 A band, sent by a friend, added much to the festivities of the occasion and considerably to the expense. The tip was $20. The photographs of the party cost $8.60.

No money presents were reported, but friends sent one banner inscribed with good wishes, and ten pots of flowers.

Birthday Party

511 527 The largest family in the group, one with 20 members and four servants, spent $69.30 for the celebration of the father's fifty-seventh birthday. It was a feast served in the big family home. Special cooks prepared it and received $14 for their two

Meat and Eggs	**$22.65**
Pork	17.60
Fish	2.85
Kidneys	.64
Liver	.48
Sheep's Stomach	.32
Pig's Stomach	.23
Eggs	.23
Ham	.16
Dried Prawns	.14
Vegetables	**$.69**
Mushrooms	.18
Yams	.18
Leeks	.15
Cabbage	.10
Garlic	.05
Peas	.02
Seaweed	.01
Condiments	**$2.78**
Sweet-oil	1.67
Salted and Pickled Vegetables	.25
Bean Sauce	.19
Tea	.16
Salt	.13
Yellow Flowers	.08
Jellied Fish Skin	.08
Vinegar	.08
Sugar	.08
Pepper	.04
Soda	.01
Alum	.01

days' service. Food for the feast cost $27.55. Of this, $22.65 was spent for meat and fish. Pork was the principal meat. It cost $17.60, fish only $2.85. Small amounts of kidneys, ham, liver, tripe, et cetera, were used for flavoring. Fifteen kinds of condiments cost $2.80, and eight kinds of vegetables only $1.15. Nuts cost 38 cents, and fruit 8 cents. The expenditure for flour and cakes was only 52 cents. The bread and noodles were largely furnished by the invited guests. The presents included $8 in cash,